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EDGAR WIND'S SELF-TRANSLATIONS

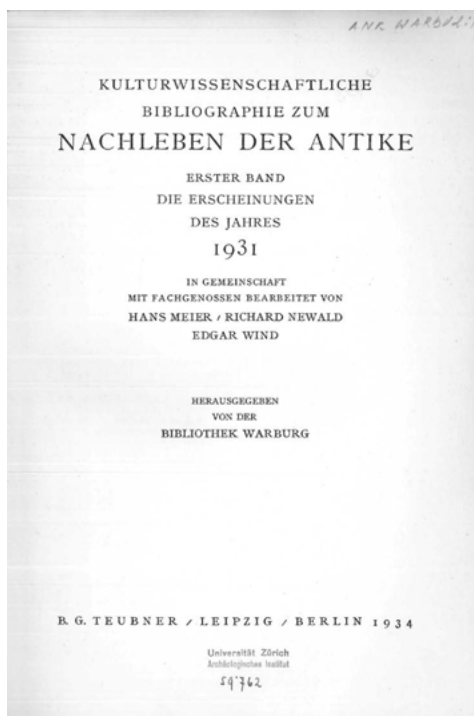
PHILOSOPHICAL GENEALOGIES AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF A CULTURAL-THEORETICAL TRADITION

Giovanna Targia

In 1934, the German publishing house B. G. Teubner printed the first volume of the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*, edited by the *Bibliothek Warburg* (ill. 10).¹ In fact it turned out to be the very last episode of an intense collaboration, formally dissolved in the last days of December 1934.² For more than ten years, Teubner had been publishing the series of *Studien* and *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, edited by Fritz Saxl.³ By that time the publisher already had 23 volumes of the monographic *Studien* and nine volumes of *Vorträge* – annual lectures held at the Warburg Library in Hamburg until 1931 – in its catalogue, as well as two volumes of Aby Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Gertrud Bing in dramatic circumstances in the spring of 1933.⁴

A few months later, the Warburg Library emigrated towards English shores and began to reorganize its activities and publications in London. This transfer (which, for legal reasons, had to look like a temporary relocation, not a permanent exile) seems to have been one of the motives for terminating the contract from Teubner's side.⁵ At the same time, the English edition of the first volume of *A Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics* was issued by the London publisher Cassell & Co. Ltd.⁶ It appeared simultaneously with the German one, printed in Germany, and included, as written on the frontispiece (ill. 11), 'the text of the German edition with an English introduction', edited by the Warburg Institute (which had already become the new English name of the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*).⁷

Even at first glance it does not appear as a mere translation of the German volume in a technical sense. A comparison between the two frontispieces tells us that we are

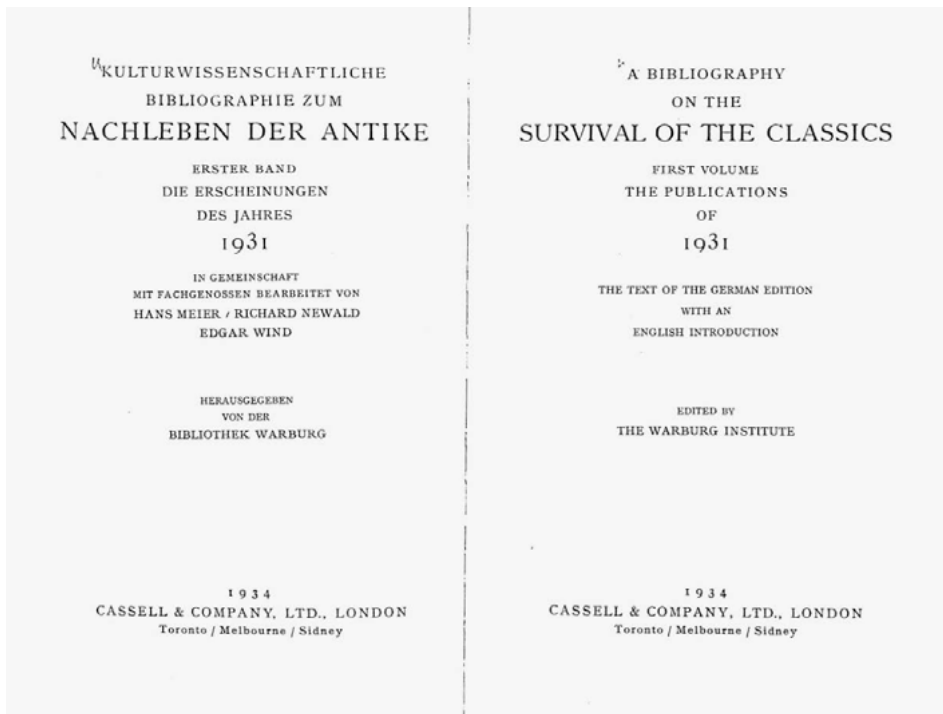


10 *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*, vol. 1, Leipzig and Berlin 1934, frontispiece

dealing with a subtle, delicate and sharp operation, which was to mark continuity and a new beginning at the same time. Opposite to the title page of the English *Bibliography* is reproduced the frontispiece of the German edition, which also specifies the names of the three editors (Hans Meier, Richard Newald, Edgar Wind) as well as the collective character of the enterprise (more than once the *Bibliothek Warburg* had been called by its members a true *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, a working community), but the most evident and telling differences between the two frontispieces lie in the very title of the volume.⁸

I will not insist on the rendering of the complex word *Nachleben*, but rather focus on a macroscopic change: *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie* becomes *A Bibliography* without adjectival specification.⁹ This was neither due to negligence nor to an inadequate translation. In fact at the very beginning of the English introduction, written by Edgar Wind, we read: ‘The general theme of this bibliography – the survival of the Greek and Roman tradition – is familiar to English readers. They may feel some misgiving, however, at seeing on the German title page the untranslatable word “kulturwissenschaftlich”, which is meant to indicate the method employed.’¹⁰

The sharp dissonance between ‘familiar’ and ‘misgiving’ resounds in a crucial statement, i.e. that of the impossibility of translating precisely the essential part of the



11 *A Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics*, vol. 1, London 1934, frontispiece

title: the word *kulturwissenschaftlich*. At the same time, the dissonance might be seen as a rhetorical means to emphasize the scope and the constant undertone of Wind's exposition. What seemed to be a radical weakness of Wind's self-translation was about to reveal itself as the Archimedean point of the whole reasoning, as we will see later on.

Edgar Wind was also the author of the German version of the introduction to the *Bibliography*. In both versions, this short text was meant to constitute a sort of manifesto for the method, the particular profile, and the activities of the Warburg Library, conceived as an organic unity, whose research was inspired by and developed after the work (unconventional on many counts) of its founder. Deliberately, Wind maintained this same nature of a manifesto for his English introduction, which follows the general structure of the German one – although drastically abridged – while at the same time adapting, substituting and calibrating paragraphs for English readers.¹¹

In the following essay, I will analyse Wind's operation in the light of his broader scope, and I will argue that, far from being a technical translation of the German version, the English text of the introduction to the *Bibliography* may be called a cultural-political intervention and a (self-)translation in a deeper (and also etymological) sense.

AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN GERMAN AND ENGLISH PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITIONS

The very figure of Edgar Wind must be situated literally and ideally at the intersection of German and Anglo-American lines. He used to name two authors as his intellectual guides: the German art and cultural historian Aby Warburg and the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce.¹² His biographical background was a cosmopolitan one – his father being a Jewish merchant of Russian origin born in Argentina, while his mother was of Romanian origin – and although he completed his studies in a German-speaking environment (attending mostly art history and philosophy lectures in Berlin, Freiburg, Vienna and Hamburg), he began to teach and write also in English from the very first stages of his academic career.¹³ After obtaining his doctorate, supervised by Erwin Panofsky and Ernst Cassirer, in 1922 he was able to publish only an abstract of his dissertation in 1924, and an extended chapter of it in 1925 in the *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, due to the financial inflation of the period.¹⁴ In those years (from March 1924 until the end of 1927) Wind lived in the United States where he also taught at the university of North Carolina, and published another short extract from his doctoral thesis under the title *Theory of Art versus Aesthetics*.¹⁵

In the same year, he published a general account of the so-called ‘continental tradition’ in two consecutive issues of *The Journal of Philosophy* under the general title *Contemporary German Philosophy*.¹⁶ Later on, he provided an extensive German account and critique of Alfred North Whitehead’s philosophy of physics.¹⁷ Moreover, Wind read extensively in the contemporary British and American tradition of empiricist and pragmatist philosophy, which profoundly affected his theoretical orientation.¹⁸

As a consequence, it is worth remarking, his self-translations were not a one-sided equation: the young Wind, who had chosen to be Erwin Panofsky’s pupil and whose work was supervised also by Ernst Cassirer, had not only been conveying Neokantian perspectives to American audiences; in a clearly receptive attitude he had also been able to assimilate and ‘translate’ (in the ancient Latin meaning of *traducere*, to introduce) empiricist views into a ‘continental’, German philosophical language.

Speaking at the 6th International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard in September 1926, Wind presented a paper in which he sketched the fundamental ideas he would later present as a research project for his *Habilitation*, which he completed, again under the supervision of Cassirer and Panofsky, in Hamburg in 1929 and published as a book in 1934.¹⁹ A review of the 1926 paper written by Ernst Nagel, an adherent to Peirce’s and Dewey’s Pragmatism, did not fail to mention the conscious political dimension of Wind’s endeavour: ‘In his readiness to break a lance for a conception of metaphysics that abides by the canons of scientific method, Dr. Wind has made an emphatic protest, so badly needed in his own country, against philosophies which are “zu nebelhaft um auch nur falsch zu sein”.’²⁰

On the one hand, Wind was standing at a crossroads, and aimed to bridge the gap between analytical and continental traditions in order to set the (linguistic and conceptual) conditions for a lucid dialogue between the most recent developments of both. He translated extensive passages of his original paper into German and integrated them in his *Habilitation* and subsequent book.

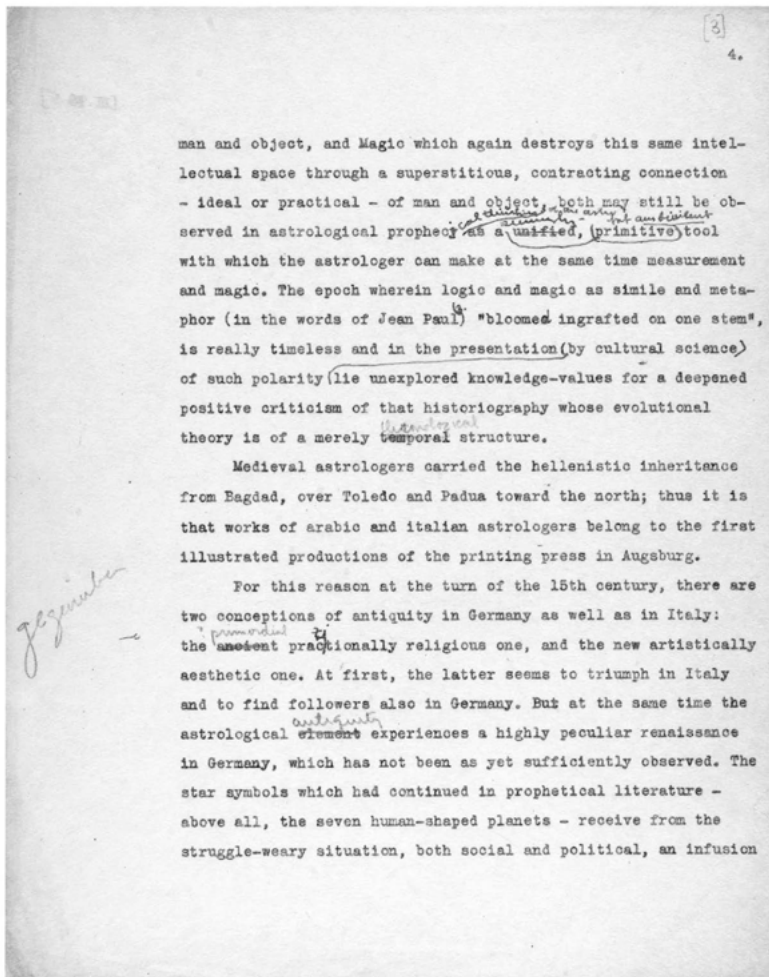
On the other hand, the German quotation from Wind in Nagel's review reminds us of an analogous statement Erwin Panofsky inserted in his famous *Impressions of a Transplanted European* about the obscure terminology of the German history of art, 'unnecessarily recondite or downright imprecise' in comparison to the 'blessing' represented by the Anglo-Saxon positivism, 'which is, in principle, distrustful of abstract speculation'.²¹

This concern – and Wind's strivings for a clearer and more strictly logical way of expression – can be applied to Wind's philosophical as well as art historical works. The language of art history which he was familiar with from the times of his studies covered a wide spectrum of contemporary German schools and methods: he had heard Adolf Goldschmidt as well as Heinrich Wölfflin, Josef Strzygowski and Max Dvořák, and of course Panofsky in Hamburg. But the crucial influence on him was to be that of Aby Warburg, whose language and research approach – far from being regarded as 'unnecessarily recondite' or 'imprecise' – constituted for Wind a decisive and inspiring stimulus for his subsequent research, all the more so because he was able to trace back a precise genealogy of Warburg's ideas.

TRANSLATING WARBURG AND TRACING GENEALOGIES

It was only in the summer of 1927 that Wind met Warburg, who during Wind's first stay in Hamburg (1922–1924) was still in Binswanger's sanatorium in Kreuzlingen.²² Wind shared with Warburg not only theoretical positions, but also the belief of a necessary cultural-political dimension of research.²³ In 1929 Wind proposed to translate into English one of the most political essays published by Warburg during his lifetime: *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten* (1920).²⁴ Ruth Wind, Edgar's first wife, took on and fulfilled the task: the *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg* registers several sessions of the 'Luther-Quartett', i.e. Warburg, Bing, and the Wind couple discussing aspects of the English translation.²⁵ The typewritten text, never published, is still preserved among Warburg's papers in London, although it was not taken into account in the first English translation of a collection of Warburg's essays, which appeared only in 1999 (ill. 12).²⁶

The problem of translating Warburg, however, entailed since the very beginning a strong political component, which was to become even harsher in subsequent decades, symbolizing a sort of inheritance conflict. On 10 May 1955, in a letter addressed to Eric



12 Ruth Wind: *Typescript of the English translation of Aby Warburg's essay »Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten«* [1920], c. 1929, London, Warburg Institute Archive III. 90.5, fol. 3

M. Warburg, Erwin Panofsky endorsed the plan for a biography of Warburg, referring to the paradoxical reception of his work: although he was considered a classic author, his writings were mostly unknown:

‘One way of doing justice to Warburg’s memory, and thereby to make the development of art history in the twentieth century understandable, would be to publish an English translation of his own works. This, however, would not serve the purpose

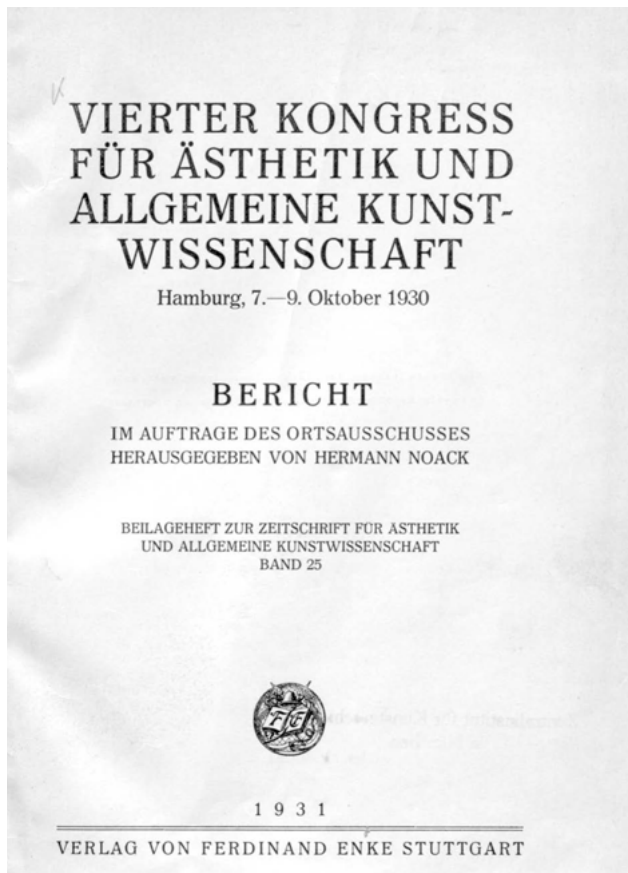
because so many of his results have by now become absorbed in the stream of tradition and because the tremendous force, compactness and originality of his diction would inevitably be lost in an English translation. If such a translation attempted to duplicate Warburg's personal style, it would not be English; if it attempted to rewrite his magnificent phrases according to English usage, it would no longer be Warburg.²⁷

Panofsky's reasoning against the need of an English translation of Warburg's writings relies upon a twofold argument regarding both their content and their form. As to the content, his point has indirectly been criticized by Ernst Gombrich, who some years later noted that the paradox of Warburg's reception was rooted precisely in the popularity of iconology in the Anglo-American world. It was iconology, Gombrich argued, that, while presenting itself as Warburg's direct intellectual legacy and a new paradigm for art history, contributed to veil his actual achievements.²⁸ Challenging the concept of a 'Hamburg school' of art history as a unified group – founded by Warburg and developed by Panofsky into a more or less formalized 'iconology' – Gombrich was touching upon a decisive point, which remained mostly unconsidered in contemporary scholarly literature.²⁹

As to the form of a possible translation, on the other hand, Panofsky evoked the ancient *topos* of the so-called *belle infidèle*: the alleged impossibility for any translation to be both elegant in the target language and 'truthful' to the source text.³⁰ By contrast, Wind's position was a diametrically opposite one. In 1971, in his well known, harsh review of Gombrich's biography, he stated:

'There is a danger that, despite its shortcomings, the book will be used and quoted as a surrogate for Warburg's own publications, which are still unavailable in English. A translation of those incomparable papers, lucid, solid, and concise, which Warburg himself committed to print, would have formed, if not a lighter, most certainly a shorter volume than the book under review. It appears, however, that among Warburg's followers it has become a tradition to regard his literary formulations as a sort of arcanum, as an exceedingly fine but all too highly concentrated elixir of learning which should not be served to British consumers without an ample admixture of barley water. Though the chances of an English translation may now seem diminished by the sheer bulk of Professor Gombrich's inadequate treatment, the set-back is not likely to be permanent. Since an authorized Italian translation has been published the justified desire to read Warburg undiluted in English cannot be ignored in perpetuity.'³¹

To read Warburg 'undiluted' would have meant, according to Wind, to become aware both of a particular genealogy of his thought, and of the broad perspectives open for being further developed on an international scale.



13 Proceedings of the »Vierter Kongress für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft«, Hamburg, 7.–9. Oktober 1930, supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 25/1931, frontispiece

In October 1930, one year after Warburg's death, Wind spoke on Warburg's concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* at the 4th Congress of Aesthetics held at the Bibliothek Warburg, a congress which Warburg himself had contributed to organize in frequent conversations with Ernst Cassirer and Max Dessoir (ill. 13).³² He provided a systematic account of the 'framework of thought' conceived by Warburg for his library, the aim of which was to cater for problems generated, according to Wind's reconstruction, by recent changes and developments undergone by the 'relationship between art history and history of culture'.³³ In this lecture, which constituted an immediate precedent for Wind's introduction to the *Bibliography*, the author designed this 'framework of thought' along three

dimensions: 'Warburg's concept of imagery', schematically explained by contrast with Riegl's and Wölfflin's formalist concepts, 'his theory of symbols', and 'his psychological theory of expression by mimesis and the use of tools'.³⁴ Wind's argument is thus constructed by means of oppositions and genealogies.

As to the second dimension explored – Warburg's theory of (the polarity of) symbols – Wind emphasises the role of the philosopher Friedrich Theodor Vischer as an antecedent and constant reference for Warburg, who read him 'again and again, thinking through for himself the principles that Vischer had developed in the essay, testing them on actual material, and building upon them in his own way'.³⁵ This process of reading again and again, testing and building upon his reference, can be actually retraced as a sort of *habitus* for Warburg, underlying his explicit as well as implicit references to his sources. Pointing precisely at this *habitus* of his master, Wind was thus providing a subtle instrument to decipher (and therefore potentially to translate) Warburg's language and research approach.

In connecting Warburg's theory of symbols to his specific and concrete field of inquiry, 'his history of the reanimation of past images by the European mind', or 'the mnemonic recovery of ancient imagery', Wind briefly mentioned the main influences on Warburg's notion of antiquity (again, by means of contrast and genealogy): Winckelmann on the one hand, Burckhardt and Nietzsche on the other, with Lessing as the crucial *causa movens* of the investigation.³⁶ Yet Wind did not linger over these well-acknowledged genealogies, already highlighted by Fritz Saxl on more than one occasion, from 1922 onwards.³⁷ Wind rather intended to elucidate other, mostly ignored (even though at times macroscopic) factors. For instance, he pointed to another theoretical root in the German tradition: Friedrich Schleiermacher, who explained artistic creation as arising from an 'act of reflection', which in his view marks a discontinuity within the condition of 'complete unity of stimulus and expression'.³⁸ Instead of discontinuity, here Warburg saw continuity: a crucial point that Wind exemplifies by sketching the third part of his 'framework', that is, Warburg's 'theory of mimetic expression and man's use of tools'. Here we find one of the earliest accounts of the wider biological and anthropological perspective essential to Warburg's *Kulturwissenschaft*.

Besides hinting at the private conversations he had with Warburg himself, Wind's exposition reveals his reading of Warburg's *Fragmente zur Ausdruckskunde* (fragments on expression theory). According to an early report on the activities of the relocated Warburg Institute in London in 1934, Wind was 'going to edit a volume containing the aphorisms in which Warburg put down his notions of philosophy of history and theory of expression to which his historical works have led him'.³⁹ Among the main references for this work, Wind could therefore insist on the role played by authors like Ewald Hering, Charles Darwin, and Thomas Carlyle in shaping a complex but consistent framework within which to understand the 'papers [...] which Warburg himself committed to print'.

The question Warburg was dealing with in his *Fragments on expression theory*, however, was not a 'recondite' or esoteric one. Again, Wind points out the tradition in which it was embedded:

'[...] the problem of the polarity of the psychic reaction has always been conceived of and analysed in the history of aesthetics, from Plato down to Lessing, Schiller, and Nietzsche, as the central problem. It is only by going back to this basic problem as Warburg does that we can also tackle the problem of periodicity in the development of art, a problem with which Riegl and Wölfflin wrestled in vain.'⁴⁰

Anamnesis represents here the attracting pole of the argument: looking back means looking forward. This might also serve as a motto for Wind's introduction to the *Bibliography*, as we saw at the beginning.

Similar considerations can be found in the German text of a *Memorandum* dated 1932, which explains the genealogy of Warburg's concept of *Kulturwissenschaft*, defining it in contrast to the merely descriptive *Kulturwissenschaft* of the 19th century.⁴¹ This text was most probably written by Wind himself, whose linguistic and cultural-political sensibility may have dictated such a thorough explanation of the concept. In view of the critical political conjuncture of the early 1930s – at a time when even the relocation of the Warburg Library was still uncertain – the members of the Institute were tirelessly trying to establish closer contacts with other scientific institutions in different countries (Italy, the Netherlands and the United States being among them).⁴² The purpose of the *Memorandum* was, in this context, to build a cooperation between Italian universities and the Warburg Institute: it was not by chance, therefore, that the definition of *Kulturwissenschaft* was used as a cornerstone to describe a whole research approach.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

If we now turn back to the *Bibliography*, we will recognize immediately the same genealogical, systematic and programmatic concern, in the German as well as in the English version of Wind's introduction. Both versions begin *in medias res* with a paragraph on 'Theme and method', but interestingly, while in the English version Wind defines the 'general theme' of the *Bibliography* as *tout court* 'familiar to English readers', in the German one he states that the very object of that *Bibliography*, unlike that of any other bibliography, may not be supposed as a 'given' or an obvious one. On the contrary, even specialists have often debated on the importance (and on the very existence) of the questions it raises.⁴³ Wind's point is to broadly re-define the *Nachleben der Antike* with a clearly programmatic intention, in a militant tone, emphasised by a series of rhetorical questions and by a critical and sharp distinction between Warburg's concept of Kul-

turwissenschaft and the method that Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert, a few decades earlier, called by the same name (although with slightly different meanings), as a counterpart to *Naturwissenschaft*.⁴⁴ Warburg's *Kulturwissenschaft* is 'not an abstract postulate' for scholarly theories, or a 'philosophical invention'.⁴⁵ It rather designates a line of inquiry that has 'definite historical associations', related to Jacob Burckhardt's studies (in particular to his concept of culture as a totality of vital manifestations) and Hermann Usener (who, as a sort of pioneer among philologists, 'applied the comparative methods of anthropology and folklore to the study of ancient rituals and myths').⁴⁶

As he already did in his lecture of 1930, Wind stresses the relevance accorded to marginal elements ('details' in Warburg's sense) by this cultural scientific method: 'To proceed only from great works of art, Warburg tells us, is to fail to see that the forgotten artefact is precisely the one most likely to yield the most valuable insights'.⁴⁷ In other words: prominence is not attributed to the highest (and qualitative) exceptions – as it was for the Romantic theories of artistic genius – but to the invaluable role of anomaly.

This might already indicate the broad political implications of these assumptions; the political undertone of Wind's German introduction to the *Bibliography* did not escape the attention of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Josef Goebbels' paper. On January 1935 a hostile article appeared, signed by a little-known historian, Martin Rasch, under the title *Juden und Emigranten machen Wissenschaft*, which attacked in particular Wind's *Kritik der Geistesgeschichte*.⁴⁸

This very paragraph entitled *Kritik der Geistesgeschichte* is suppressed in the English version of Wind's introduction, but the militant undertone remained untouched. He only summarized the core of the debate writing that:

'The word [kulturwissenschaftlich] is full of odd connotations. English readers might feel themselves reminded of war-time slogans which succeeded in rendering the word "Kultur" altogether disreputable. German scholars will think, with some mortification, of the time when their philosophical professors discovered the difference between natural and cultural sciences and became involved in profound discussions as to which science deserved the name of "cultural". – These times are past, and there is, at least on the part of the editors of this book, no intention to revive them.'⁴⁹

Beside this sort of *pars destruens*, however, we immediately find a substantial *pars construens* in Wind's political argumentation. Wind's genealogy for what he defines as Warburg's 'comprehensive science of civilization' (a formulation pointing at Warburg's attempt to tear down the various disciplinary barriers) is once again connected to the names of Burckhardt and Usener.⁵⁰ Two footnotes laconically list the most important works of the two authors, who, at that time, might not yet be familiar to English readers. Moreover, Wind underlines Warburg's attempt to reconcile the two apparently opposing approaches of Burckhardt and Usener (the former describing the Renaissance 'in its most

highly refined and perfect products', while the latter 'ransacked the remotest corners of vulgar superstition and practice to find there some classical remnant in a disguised or distorted form'), and adds a significant parallel: 'It would be as well to proclaim a union between the Renaissance idea of Walter Pater or Symonds and that idea of pagan survival which has directed the work of Sir James Frazer!'⁵¹ More explicitly, Wind entitles a whole paragraph of his introduction: 'English Antecedents and Parallels', highlighting the fact that:

'the formation of Warburg's own thought was strongly influenced partly by English sources that in their turn have influenced England. His theory of symbols, dependent though it is upon one of the most striking essays of Friedrich Theodor Vischer, owes a great debt to both Darwin and Carlyle. And his theory of memory is closely related to Hering's lecture *Über das Gedächtnis als Funktion der organisierten Materie*, – the very book which Samuel Butler translated into English to use as a weapon against Darwin'.⁵²

The somewhat cursory character of this overview of sources was probably due to the frantic circumstances in which this text was printed, but its relevance can hardly be underrated. Interestingly, Wind refers precisely to an episode of translation – Samuel Butler's version of Hering's lecture – in order to draw attention to the interconnections and the wide perspective of Warburg's *Kulturwissenschaft*.⁵³

In fact the most neglected part of Warburg's work – the anthropological and scientific roots of his theory of expression, which is at the core of Wind's exposition in the German lecture of 1930 – is brought to the fore in the English text and re-rooted in its more complex historical and international 'environment', providing an 'English' genealogy for Warburg's *Kulturwissenschaft*.

THE CHALLENGE OF WIND'S SELF-TRANSLATION

From January 1934 to late August 1939 Wind was Deputy Director of the Warburg Institute. Notwithstanding his efforts (pursued through exhibitions and journal issues, teaching and scholarly writings), the English-speaking academic community apparently still considered the approach of the 'Warburgians' as foreign for decades. Ten years after the transfer of the Warburg Library, Fritz Saxl remarked – in a retrospective narrative of that complicated phase – that 'the language in which they wrote – even if the words were English – was foreign because their habits of thought were un-English'.⁵⁴ And Gertrud Bing later wrote that Saxl's activity was constantly oriented at 'adjusting his scholarship to a different academic tradition', where the history of art was regarded 'with more than slight suspicion'.⁵⁵

But if we look at the genealogies Wind sketched in the first volume of the *Bibliography*, we might deduce how different his own views and expectations were to those of Saxl. Warburg himself used to stress the utility and necessity of bibliographies as cultural-political tools, enhancing the international dimension of research.⁵⁶ In his retrospective *History of Warburg's Library*, Fritz Saxl defined the project of compiling 'an annual critical *Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics*' as an attempt to build up 'a wide international organization', mentioning the (at least initially) successful appeal of such an enterprise.⁵⁷ What Wind sketched in his programmatic introduction to the *Bibliography*, however, was a much broader perspective; he did not want the Institute's scope to be confined to a mere organizational activity.⁵⁸ And it is such a broader perspective which we might see symbolized by the very concept of a 'self-translation'.

Wind pointed at what seemed a 'foreign' element (that is, the weakest and at first sight more problematic point of his self-translation, i.e. an allegedly untranslatable, albeit crucial word) in order to show how familiar it was to English readers in a deeper sense. Moreover, thanks to this very move he was able to 'talk back' to the German readers too, who might have discovered much wider roots for what seemed to be an institution built within their own tradition.

Edgar Wind's Self-Translations (Giovanna Targia)

1 *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*, vol. 1, *Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1931*, in Gemeinschaft mit Fachgenossen bearbeitet von Hans Meier, Richard Newald, Edgar Wind (ed. by the Bibliothek Warburg), Leipzig/Berlin 1934. For some information on the genesis of the project and on the role played by Richard Newald in planning the *Bibliography* as a periodical publication, cf. Dorothea McEwan: *Fritz Saxl – Eine Biografie: Aby Warburgs Bibliothekar und erster Direktor des Londoner Warburg Institutes*, Wien 2012, pp. 163–165.

2 This breakup is documented, for instance, in a recriminatory letter Teubner sent to Warburg's nephew, Erich M. Warburg, on 3 April 1935, which is preserved in the Warburg Institute Archive (WIA), Family Correspondence (FC).

3 The first volume of the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, as well as the first of the *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, appeared in 1923, while Aby Warburg was still in the sanatorium Bellevue in Kreuzlingen; cf. letter from Fritz Saxl to Aby Warburg, 11 June 1923, WIA, General Correspondence (GC), accompanying the first volume of *Vorträge* as a birthday present.

4 Aby Warburg: *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance. Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 vols (ed. by Gertrud Bing with the collaboration of Fritz Rougemont), Leipzig 1932 (printed in 1933). An editorial irregularity bears witness to the political climate: the short text entitled *Ernst Cassirer. Warum Hamburg den Philosophen Cassirer nicht verlieren darf*, due to occupy the pages 614–620 of vol. 2 of Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften*, was deleted from the index and suppressed at the very last moment in the process of printing, so that the page-numbering of the volume skips from 614 to 621, as noted by Dieter Wuttke; cf. Aby Warburg: *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen* (ed. by Dieter Wuttke), 3rd ed., Baden-Baden 1992, p. 547.

5 As it emerges from the aforementioned letter to Erich M. Warburg (WIA, FC, 3 April 1935): 'Es kann dahingestellt bleiben, welche Gründe die Übersiedlung der Bibliothek Warburg nach London veranlasst haben sowie ob es sich um eine einstweilige Verlegung handelt oder nicht. Tatsache ist und bleibt, dass erst die Übersiedlung die Kritik an den Veröffentlichungen der Bibliothek Warburg instand setzte, von Emigranten-Wissenschaft zu sprechen. Wie die mit dieser Kennzeichnung festgestellte Emigration sich im einzelnen erklärt, kann an der Tatsache nichts ändern, dass eben durch diese Kennzeichnung der Vertrieb der Warburg-Veröffentlichungen durch eine deutsche Firma sich verbietet, wie das Verlagsschreiben vom 8.2. es ausdrückt.'

6 *A Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics*, vol. 1, *The Publications of 1931* (ed. by The Warburg Institute), London et al. 1934. A second and a third volume of the *Bibliography* were already in preparation, involving a large number of contributors, when the Library migrated to London; eventually only a second volume was published with an English frontispiece under the variant title *A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics*, vol. 2, *The Publications of 1932–1933*, London 1938. On the London publishing house, cf. Simon Nowell-Smith: *The House of Cassell 1848–1958*, London 1958. On the early reception see the reviews by Stephen Gaselee, in: *Medium Aevum* 5.2/1936, pp. 144–146 and Emerson Buchanan, in: *The Journal of Philosophy* 33.14/1936, pp. 389–391; cf. also Graham Whitaker: *A Moment in Time: From the Digital Record of a Migrating Library*, in: Tom D. Kilton and Ceres Birkhead (eds): *Migrations in Society, Culture, and the Library: WESS European Conference, 22–26 March 2004*, Paris 2005, pp. 216–232.

7 The German printing company (that would also print subsequent publications of the Warburg Institute) was J. J. Augustin in Glückstadt, near Hamburg.

- 8 Cf. Ernst Cassirer: *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, vol. 10), Leipzig/Berlin 1927, p. v.
- 9 Cf. among others Ulrich Raulff: *Kreis ohne Meister. Stefan Georges Nachleben*, 2nd ed., München 2012, pp. 11–18.
- 10 *Bibliography* 1934, p. V.
- 11 Many years later, on 5 June 1968, Wind wrote to Ernst H. Gombrich that the English version ‘was done under pressure and shows it’: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Wind 64, folder 1.
- 12 Cf. John M. Krois: *Kunst und Wissenschaft in Edgar Winds Philosophie der Verkörperung*, in: Horst Bredekamp et al. (eds): *Edgar Wind. Kunsthistoriker und Philosoph*, Berlin 1998, pp. 181–205, p. 184, who refers to a personal communication from Edgar Wind’s late wife, Margaret.
- 13 For biographical information, cf. Hugh Lloyd Jones: *A Biographical Memoir*, in: Edgar Wind: *The Eloquence of Symbols. Studies in Humanist Art* (ed. by Jaynie Anderson), 3rd ed., Oxford 1993, pp. XIII–XXXVI, and Krois 1998.
- 14 The dissertation has only recently been published in its entirety: Edgar Wind: *Aesthetischer und kunstwissenschaftlicher Gegenstand. Ein Beitrag zur Methodologie der Kunstgeschichte* (ed. by Pablo Schneider), Hamburg 2011. The two published excerpts are: id.: *Aesthetischer und kunstwissenschaftlicher Gegenstand. Ein Beitrag zur Methodologie der Kunstgeschichte*, Auszug aus der Inaugural-Dissertation, Universität Hamburg, 1922 (12 pp.); id.: *Zur Systematik der künstlerischen Probleme*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 18/1925, pp. 438–486.
- 15 Edgar Wind: *Theory of Art versus Aesthetics*, in: *Philosophical Review* 34/1925, pp. 350–359: the text is a version of a paper read at the 24th annual meeting of the American Philosophical Association at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 30 December 1924.
- 16 Edgar Wind: *Contemporary German Philosophy*, in: *The Journal of Philosophy* 22/1925, pp. 477–493 and 516–530.
- 17 Edgar Wind: *Mathematik und Sinnesempfindung. Materialien zu einer Whitehead-Kritik*, in: *Logos. Zeitschrift für systematische Philosophie* 21/1932, pp. 239–280, p. 272. For a recent analysis of this text, cf. Sascha Freyberg: *Ereignis und Objekt. Zur Whitehead-Kritik von Edgar Wind und John Dewey*, in: Franz Engel and Sabine Marienberg (eds): *Das Entgegenkommende Denken. Verstehen zwischen Form und Empfindung*, Berlin 2016, pp. 39–54.
- 18 Cf. the observations made by Bernhard Buschendorf: ‘War ein sehr tüchtiges gegenseitiges Fördern’: *Edgar Wind und Aby Warburg*, in: *Idea. Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 4/1985, pp. 165–209, pp. 172–176. For a recent reappraisal of Wind’s role in the history of pragmatism, cf. Tullio Viola: *Peirce and Iconology: Habitus, Embodiment, and the Analogy between Philosophy and Architecture*, in: *European Journal of Pragmatism and American Philosophy* 1/2012, pp. 6–31.
- 19 Edgar Wind: *Experiment and Metaphysics*, in: Edgar S. Brightman (ed.): *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy, Harvard University 1926*, New York 1927, pp. 217–224; id.: *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik. Zur Auflösung der kosmologischen Antinomien* [1934] (ed. with an afterword by Bernhard Buschendorf and an introduction by Brigitte Falkenburg), Frankfurt a.M. 2001.
- 20 Ernst Nagel, in: *The Journal of Philosophy* 31/1934, S. 164–165, and Wind [1934] 2001, pp. 63–69.
- 21 Subtitle of the essay on *Three Decades of Art History in the United States*; cf. the essay by Irving Lavin, pp. [crossref].
- 22 Cf. *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg* (Gesammelte Schriften. Studienausgabe, vol. VII) (ed. by Karen Michels and Charlotte Schoell-Glass), Berlin 2001, p. 104.

- 23** On this point, cf. Franz Engel: *Though This Be Madness: Edgar Wind and the Warburg Tradition*, in: Sabine Marienberg and Jürgen Trabant (eds): *Bildakt at the Warburg Institute*, Berlin 2014, pp. 87–115, pp. 92–93.
- 24** Warburg 1932, pp. 487–558.
- 25** *Tagebuch* 2001, pp. 536, 539, 542, 545–546; cf. also Warburg's report to the *Kuratorium* of the KBW dated 21 August 1929, in: Warburg 1992, pp. 307–309, p. 309.
- 26** In WIA III.90.5 is preserved a typescript of 64 folios (the first page is missing), with handwritten corrections by Ruth Wind. Aby Warburg: *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, Introduction by Kurt W. Forster, trad. by David Britt, Los Angeles 1999, pp. 597–697. On Warburg's self-translations, cf. the essay by Maria Teresa Costa, pp. [crossref].
- 27** Erwin Panofsky: *Korrespondenz. Eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden*, vol. 3, *Korrespondenz 1950 bis 1956* (ed. by Dieter Wuttke), Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 746–747.
- 28** Ernst H. Gombrich: *Aby Warburg 1866–1929* [1966] in: Kulturforum Warburg (ed.): *Aby Warburg. Von Michelangelo bis zu den Puebloindianern*, Warburg 1991, pp. 9–21, p. 13. Gombrich refers here to the same opinion expressed by Gertrud Bing in her introduction to the first Italian translation of a selection of Warburg's writings, published under the title *La Rinascita del Paganesimo Antico*, Firenze 1966.
- 29** Cf., for instance, William S. Heckscher: *The Genesis of Iconology*, in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Bonn 1964, vol. 3. *Theorien und Probleme*, Berlin 1967, pp. 239–262, pp. 240–241: '[...] the words "iconology" and "Warburg method", and justifiably so, have virtually become interchangeable'.
- 30** Cf. Antoine Berman: *L'Épreuve de l'étranger. Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique*, Paris 1984, pp. 15–17.
- 31** Edgar Wind, in: *The Times Literary Supplement*, 25 June 1971; the review appeared anonymously and was reprinted in: id. 1993, pp. 106–113, p. 113.
- 32** Edgar Wind: *Warburgs Begriff der Kulturwissenschaft und seine Bedeutung für die Ästhetik*, in: *Vierter Kongress für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, Hamburg, 7.–9. Oktober 1930*, supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 25/1931, pp. 163–179; now in id.: *Heilige Furcht und andere Schriften zum Verhältnis von Kunst und Philosophie* (ed. by John Michael Krois and Roberto Ohrt), Hamburg 2009, pp. 83–111. In what follows, I quote from the English translation: Wind 1993, pp. 21–35. Notes, sketches and correspondence related to the congress, and dating from the beginning of 1928 until the end of October 1929 are preserved in WIA IV.51: *Aesthetischer Kongress Hmbg. 1929*; cf. also Andrea Pinotti: *Wind, Warburg et la 'Kunstwissenschaft' comme 'Kulturwissenschaft'*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 61.2/2016, pp. 267–279.
- 33** Wind 1993, p. 21.
- 34** Ibid.
- 35** Wind 1993, p. 27. Cf. Friedrich Theodor Vischer: *Das Symbol* [1887], in: id.: *Kritische Gänge*, München 1922, pp. 420–456; Bernhard Buschendorf: *Zur Begründung der Kulturwissenschaft: der Symbolbegriff bei Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Aby Warburg und Edgar Wind*, in: Bredekamp et al. 1998, pp. 227–248, and Matthew Rampley: *Zur Vischer-Rezeption bei Warburg*, in: Barbara Potthast and Alexander Reck (eds): *Friedrich Theodor Vischer: Leben, Werk, Wirkung*, Heidelberg 2011, pp. 299–320.
- 36** Wind 1993, p. 29; Warburg 1992, p. 307.

37 Cf. Fritz Saxl: *Rinascimento dell'antichità. Studien zu den Schriften Aby Warburgs* [1922], reprinted in: Warburg 1992, pp. 347–399.

38 Cf. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher: *Über den Umfang des Begriffs der Kunst in Bezug auf die Theorie derselben* [1831/32], in id.: *Ästhetik (1819/25). Über den Begriff der Kunst (1831/32)* (ed. by Thomas Lehnerer), Hamburg 1984, pp. 158–188, pp. 161–162. The German word for 'reflection' is here 'Besinnung', which has a contiguous meaning to that of 'Besonnenheit' (a frequent occurrence in Warburg's texts, as is well known); cf. *ibid.*, p. 11: 'Die Kunst ist also hier die Identität der Begeisterung, vermöge deren die Aeufßerung aus der inneren Erregung herrührt, und der Besonnenheit, vermöge deren sie aus dem Urbilde herrührt.'

39 Report written by Fritz Saxl and addressed to Erich M. Warburg, dated February 1934: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Wind 240, folder 2. At present, two different editions of Warburg's *Fragments* are available: *Aby Warburg: Frammenti sull'espressione. Grundlegende Bruchstücke zu einer pragmatischen Ausdruckskunde* (ed. by Susanne Müller, with an Italian translation by Maurizio Ghelardi and Giovanna Targia), Pisa 2011; *Aby Warburg: Fragmente zur Ausdruckskunde* (Gesammelte Schriften. Studienausgabe, vol. IV) (ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer and Hans Christian Hönes), Berlin/München 2015.

40 Wind 1993, p. 33. Interestingly, the concept of periodicity was among the main themes Warburg sketched for the programme of the Congress of Aesthetics, cf. WIA IV.51.5.

41 The text of the *Memorandum* was published by Dieter Wuttke as an appendix to his essay: *Aby M. Warburgs Kulturwissenschaft* [1993/1994], in: id.: *Dazwischen. Kulturwissenschaft auf Warburgs Spuren*, vol. 2, Baden-Baden 1996, pp. 737–765, pp. 762–765.

42 Cf. Dieter Wuttke: *Die Emigration der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg und die Anfänge des Universitätsfaches Kunstgeschichte in Großbritannien*, in: id. 1996, pp. 695–722, and Bernhard Buschendorf: *Auf dem Weg nach England – Edgar Wind und die Emigration der Bibliothek Warburg*, in: Michael Diers (ed.): *Porträt aus Büchern. Bibliothek Warburg und Warburg Institute, Hamburg – 1933 – London*, Hamburg 1993, pp. 85–128.

43 Wind is alluding to the dangers threatening Humanism through contemporary attempts to break away from the Graeco-Roman tradition; cf. *Bibliography* 1934, p. xii: 'The last section "Humanismus und Gegenwart" is somewhat humorous. It shows Germany defending its "Third Humanism" with all the help of scientific accuracy but unable to safe-guard its "Humanistic Gymnasium" from rhetorical attacks.'

44 A similar distinction surfaces also in the writings of Ernst Cassirer, who had been closely connected to the Warburg circle since his first years in Hamburg; cf. in particular Cassirer's critique of Windelband's and Rickert's concepts of *Kulturwissenschaft* in his essay *Zur Logik der Kulturwissenschaften. Fünf Studien* [1942], in: Ernst Cassirer: *Werke (Hamburger Ausgabe)*, vol. 24. *Aufsätze und kleine Schriften (1941–1946)* (ed. by Claus Rosenkranz), Hamburg 2007, pp. 355–486, pp. 393–394. Cassirer's choice of the term *Kulturwissenschaften* for the title of this work – rather than the term *Geisteswissenschaften*, which he employs in other contexts – explicitly suggests his affiliation with the spirit and scopes of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg. In this respect see the 'Translator's introduction' in Ernst Cassirer: *The Logic of the Cultural Sciences. Five Studies*, trad. and with an introduction by Stephen G. Lofts, foreword by Donald Phillip Verene, New Haven/London 2000, pp. xviii–xix, and p. xvi, note 6: 'To translate *Kulturwissenschaften* as "humanities" instead of using the somewhat unusual English term, "sciences of culture", would thus have meant to obscure Cassirer's aim of searching for the unity behind the "sciences" of culture and of nature.' As is well known, Wilhelm Dilthey used the more 'Hegelian' term *Geisteswissenschaft*, whereas Neokantian philosophers preferred the younger word *Kulturwissenschaft*. For an outline of the history of these concepts, cf. the entries *Geisteswissenschaften* (A. Diemer) and *Kultur, Kulturphilosophie* (W. Perpeet), in: Joachim Ritter (ed.): *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, vol. 3, Basel/Stuttgart 1974, pp. 211–215 and vol. 4, Basel/Stuttgart

1976, pp. 1309–1324; cf. also Hartmut Böhme: *Kulturwissenschaft*, in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft*, vol. 2, Berlin/New York 2000, pp. 356–359.

45 *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie* 1934, p. VI.

46 Ibid.

47 Wind 1993, p. 34. This idea is intimately connected to a crucial Peircean sentence (as pointed out by Viola 2012): ‘It is the belief men *betray*, and not that which they *parade* which has to be studied’: *Issues of Pragmaticism* [1905], in: *The Essential Peirce. Selected Philosophical Writings*, vol. 2 (ed. by the Peirce Edition Project), Bloomington/Indianapolis 1998, p. 349n.

48 *Völkischer Beobachter* 5/1935, p. 5 and 23/1935, p. 6 (reprinted in: Dieter Wuttke (ed.): *Kosmopolis der Wissenschaft. E.R. Curtius und das Warburg Institute. Briefe 1928 bis 1953 und andere Dokumente*, Baden-Baden 1989, pp. 296–298), where investigations on the survival of the classics are labelled as wholly unnecessary, as ‘Wissenschaft über die Wissenschaft und damit typisch jüdisches Denken’. On some of the sad consequences which followed, cf. Joist Grolle: *Percy Ernst Schramm – Fritz Saxl. Die Geschichte einer zerbrochenen Freundschaft*, in: Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers and Charlotte Schoell-Glass (eds): *Aby Warburg. Akten des internationalen Symposions Hamburg* 1990, Weinheim 1991, pp. 95–114, pp. 102–108.

49 *Bibliography* 1934, p. V.

50 Ibid., p. v–vi.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., pp. viii–ix.

53 Samuel Butler: *Unconscious Memory: A Comparison between the Theory of Dr. Ewald Hering and the ‘Philosophy of the Unconscious’ of Dr. Edward von Hartmann; with Translations from these Authors*, London 1880; Ewald Hering: *Über das Gedächtnis als eine allgemeine Funktion der organisierten Materie: Vortrag gehalten in der feierlichen Sitzung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien am 30. Mai 1870*, in: id.: *Fünf Reden* (ed. by H.E. Hering), Leipzig 1921, pp. 5–31.

54 Fritz Saxl: *The History of Warburg’s Library (1886–1944)*, in: Ernst H. Gombrich: *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970, pp. 325–338, p. 337.

55 Gertrud Bing: *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948. A Memoir*, in: Donald James Gordon (ed): *Fritz Saxl 1890–1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays*, London 1957, pp. 1–46, p. 28.

56 Cf. Warburg 1992, p. 612.

57 Fritz Saxl in Gombrich 1970, pp. 335–336, where, with reference to the review of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Saxl noted that the *Bibliography* was ‘an enterprise as dry and non-political as any humanistic institute could produce’.

58 See, in this regard, the subsequent polemic and break up between Wind and Saxl, documented by a dramatic exchange of letters immediately following Wind’s resignation from the Institute in 1945 (a letter Wind sent to Gertrud Bing on 15 June 1945 has been published in Engel 2014, pp. 107–115), and narrated in a long letter Wind addressed to Jean Seznec in the summer 1954 about the general situation at the Warburg Institute, and preserved, together with Seznec’s answer dated 25 September 1954, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Wind 7, folder 5.